The People's Korea

No. 1,104 EVERY SATURDAY AUGUST 7, 1982 Per Copy Price:¥250 (US$1.00) (1982年8月7日第3種郵便物認可)

RECEIVED SERIALS DIVISION

Chon Du Hwan Closer to His End, Says New York Times As Dow Chemical Rejects Investment

In a rare chorus, the New York Times and Newsweek warned south Korean strongman Chon Du Hwan is now getting closer to his end, possibly sometime in autumn.

The New York Times, in the July 6 article contributed by Bruce Comings, said, "Now close observers, including an American with decades of experience in Seoul, are predicting that Mr. Chun will not last through the fall; they expect a palace coup to remove him."

The professor at the University of Washington wrote on the recent events: "In March, student dissidents torched the American Cultural Center in Pusan and attacked the American role in backing President Chun and in aiding the suppression of the Kwangju rebellion of May 1980."

He called particular attention to the two incidents: the worst financial scandal in Korean history which came in May and the detention of two Americans by electronics female workers.

Recalling the current crisis which began in 1979 is likely to lead to the overthrow of Gen. Chon, the American professor cited the growing anti-Americanism which forces some local professors to curtail exchanges with America in fear of student protests."

"Behind all this," Professor Cumings said, "stands the worsening of the economy and the end of the Korean miracle."

The chairman of the Dow Chemical Company, the largest foreign corporate investor in south Korea, said that he would advise other companies considering investing in south Korea "to weigh the risk-reward equation very carefully" first. His comment was carried in the July 8 issue of the Times.

Mr. Robert W. Lundeen describing himself as a "Korea booster" said, "... we're not interested in investing 5 more cents in Korea until the present problems are straightened out."

Meanwhile, Newsweek magazine, August 2, said, "Chun faces a potentially more severe threat: south Korea's faltering economy. 'People realize that pushing Chon not will only get them another general as president,' says one Western diplomat in Seoul."

The magazine stressed, "So far, Chun has survived by juggling his government after every crisis. That strategy may no longer be enough."

Observing that south Korea's military leaders pinning their hopes on the new program to revive the economy and calm political unrest, Newsweek predicts that its

Fighting Bad News: Newsweek

Newsweek magazine, August 2, 1982, predicts that south Korea's military leaders may force Chon Du Hwan out well before his seven-year term is over. Here is the story written by Marc Frons with Kim Willenson:

For South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan, the bad news seemed to come all at once. This spring a deranged policeman killed 57 people in a southern village, militant students burned the American Cultural Center in Pusan and a series of fatal construction accidents struck the Seoul subway system. Worst of all, members of the President's own family were implicated in a $1 billion financial swindle—and opposition leaders brazenly called for his resignation. Chun had no such in-

failure may force the generals to remove him "well before his seven-year term is over."

However, as Bruce Comings pointed out, "Such a move would do nothing about the underlying problems in south Korea: authoritarian politics, burgeoning anti-Americanism and economic stagnation."

tent. He reshuffled his Cabinet three times, brought in old military-school classmates—and survived the worst of the turmoil. Now, however, Chun faces a potentially more severe threat: South Korea's faltering economy. "People realize that pushing Chun out will only get them another general as President," says one Western diplomat in Seoul. "But once they start to feel the pain in their pockets—look out."

Chun is keenly aware of the danger. In the past, his country has relied on exports to fuel economic growth. But the global recession has slowed South Korean sales abroad—and Chun is trying desperately to prevent the current slump from deepening.

Last month, in a series of bold economic reforms, his government cut interest rates on bank deposits and commercial loans by 4 percentage points and proposed a cut in corporate taxes for 1983. At the same time, Chun is seeking to eliminate special tax breaks and subsidized credits for several industries to help control next year's large predicted budget deficit.

Devalue: The new policies seemed logical enough. By boosting state spending, government economists hoped to increase private investment and boost domestic demand for Korean-made goods. The government also believes that the new 10 percent commercial lending rate and more lenient collateral requirements will allow companies to borrow more easily for capital improvements. But not everyone is so optimistic. Private economists warn that the central bank will have to print more money to meet the

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All We Want Is A Nuclear-Free Unified Korea for Our Children

On July 27, the Hibiya Open-Air Amphitheater was filled to capacity some 19,000 Koreans here to mark the 29th V-A Day and the climax of the 33-day no-more Koroshima march of Koreans in Japan. Participants chanted, "U.S. Nuke and Troops out of south Korea!" and other anti-nuclear slogans.

The June 25-July 27 no-more Koroshima march of Koreans in Japan ended successfully with a 19,000-man meeting in Tokyo to celebrate the 29th V-A Day.

On July 27, the through group arrived at the Hibiya Park, its final destination as the Koreans covered a total of 6,300 kilometres from different parts of Japan.

The march was a sort of a relay journey with the main group walking through the whole Osaka-Tokyo course. The Korean marchers were joined by local Japanese residents and representatives of Japanese political parties, public organizations and trade unions.

Various branch routes for the anti-nuclear crusade from various parts of the Japanese archipelago, east and west, north and south, eventually led to the Osaka-Tokyo route.

The trek involved a total of 88,300 Korean nationals and about 27,700 Japanese.

Various meetings held in local areas to support the march involved a total of 185,200 Koreans, one quarter of the Korean population in Japan.

As they marched, the Koreans chanted, "No More Koroshima!", "U.S. Nuke out of South Korea !", "Save Our Loved Children from Nuclear Holocaust!"

In its march into the Hibiya Park, the main group was welcomed, joined and escorted by members of the Socialist Parliamentary group, Japan-Korea friendship organizations, the Japan Women's Liaison Council for Solidarity with the Korean Women, the Japan-Korea Central Youth Solidarity Committee, the Tokyo Liaison Council of Japan-Korea Solidarity and various other organizations of Japan.

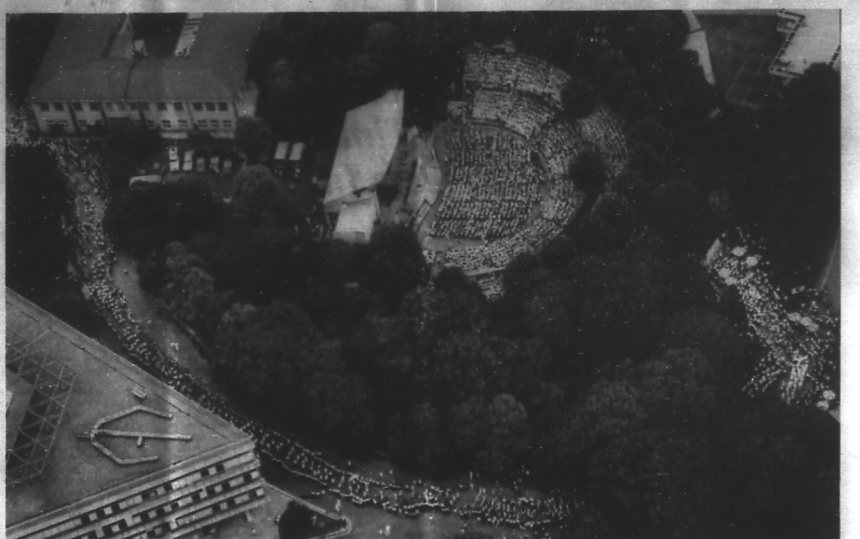
Chairman Han Duk Su of the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Chongryun), in his address to the Hibiya meeting, said, "Today we proudly wind up the 33-day grand march with a more ardent desire for the reunification of the country and full of confidence in victory."

He called upon all the participants to make every possible effort to establish a nuclear-free, neutral unified state on the Korean Peninsula as early as possible.

Guest speakers included JSP Chairman Asukata Ichio, Sezaki Hiroyoshi, vice-chairman of the Parliamentary Measure Committee, Okimoto Yasuyuki, Chuo Government Party member of the House of Representatives, Yoshioka Tokuji, vice-chairman of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, and Iwai Akira, General Secretary of the Japan Committee for Supporting the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of Korea.

On July 26, a similar meeting was held in Osaka participated by 18,000 Koreans.

213,000 Koreans Here March for



A bird's-eye view of the July 27 gathering in and around the Hibiya Open-Air Amphitheater near Ginza, Tokyo, of Korean marchers, which culminated in the no-more-Koroshima march.

Report of Chairman Han Duk Su

At the July 27 central meeting of Korean residents here Chairman Han Duk Su of Chongryun (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) Central Standing Committee made a report. Most parts of his report were dedicated to the 33-day (June 25 - July 27) no-more Koroshima march of Koreans in Japan.

The Chairman revealed that the total mileage of the anti-nuclear peace march by Korean residents here was 6,300 kilometers which crisscrossed 45 prefectures of Japan. A total of 17 courses were set up, including the Tokyo-Osaka main course, he added.

The demonstrators and cheer teams totaled over 213,000, he said, comprising people from all age groups, those in their sixties and seventies included. Among them were almost all Chongryun branch activists, their wives, parents and children, grandfathers and grandmothers, grandsons and granddaughters, and mothers and fathers-in-law, he said.

Youths, he stressed, took a particularly active role in it, on the plea that they take a masterly attitude toward the reunification struggle to take it from their parents.

A significant fact about the march, the Chairman recalled, was that compatriots affiliated with Mindan (the Union of the "ROK" Residents in Japan) and unorganized resident compatriots also joined the trek without being solicited, just wanting a nuclear-free reunified Korea. The reporter said that they offered their houses and gardens for display of films and art performances.

The reporter quoted fellow countrymen visiting Japan from south Korea as saying that they were greatly moved at the sight of Koreans in Japan were devotedly working for the reunification of the motherland.

With the anti-nuclear peace march attracting public attention, the reporter referred to actions in support of the Koreans' struggle taken by various Japanese democratic groups, including political parties, trade unions, Juche idea study institutes, associations for support and alliance to Korea's reunification, and Japan-Korea friendship association.

He noted that representatives from these political and public bodies made welcome speeches, presented bouquets to the Korean marchers in almost every place they passed.

The public abroad, he said, also supported the trek, the Chairman told the audience that Chongryun received messages of support and solidarity sent by many international bodies and celebrities; for example, the International Liaison Committee for the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of Korea, the International Journalists' Union, the International Students' Union and the Conference of Asian Budhists for Peace.

Pointing out the successful trek, he called upon the Koreans gathered at Hibiya to activate their struggles for national reunification. The U.S., he stressed, should be forced to withdraw its troops and nuclear-weapons from south Korea.

As long as the U.S. was allowed to station its troops in south Korea, he continued, democratization of south Korea and peaceful and independent national reunification would not be realized, nor any other internal problems would not be solved.

Chairman Han Duk Su defined this as a key lesson of the 37-year bloody struggles of Koreans in north and south Korea and abroad, since the Aug. 15, 1945 liberation.

Claiming that the U.S. caused misunderstanding, distrust and conflicts between north and south Korea, he stressed that there would not have been any single sign of danger of nuclear war, if the U.S. had not been in south Korea.

He called all the Koreans both in Korea and abroad to unite more closely, to accelerate the reunification of Korea by establishing the bi-system DCRK, to remove the danger of nuclear war from the Korean Peninsula, and to democratize the south Korean society. He also criticized Japan for supporting Gen. Chon Du Hwan.

Making reference to the two leaders of the Korean people, President Kim Il Sung and Mr. Kim Jong Il, he declared that under their wise leadership the struggle to reunify and protect Korea from nuclear war would not be stopped by any forces.

Solidarity Speeches of Japanese

Follow gists of solidarity speeches made by Japanese prominent figures at the July 27 central meeting of Koreans here:

Korea's Reunification Is Prerequisite to Peace in Asia And World

By Chairman Asukata Ichio of the Japan Socialist Party

Your demand is completely the same as that of the Japanese people who want peace in Asia and the world.

Aiming at a nuclear war, the U.S.-S. Korea joint military exercises, Japan-U.S. joint tactics and joint military drills of Japan and Pacific countries have become larger in scale year after year.

These developments are parts of Reagan's so-called "strategy of multiple response" and "strategy of limited nuclear war", policy measures which he is trying to carry out in Northeast Asia.

The Japanese people and the Korean people do want neither a single nuclear weapon nor a foreign soldier.

To have all the nuclear weapons and foreign troops immediately withdrawn from your dear motherland is the same desire and the same struggle task of both the Japanese and Korean peoples.

In spring last year, in political talks with us, respected President Kim Il Sung declared that the DPRK had never wanted nuclear weapons in the past and would never want them in the future.

Enemies of peace are maneuvering to split Korea into two forever, along the Military Demarcation Line which had been temporarily drawn across the peninsula. They trample down the Korean people's demand and are scheming to start a nuclear war in Korea.

Therefore, Korea's independent and peaceful reunification is the prerequisite to peace in Asia and the common task to be achieved by both the Japanese and Korean peoples.

To Prevent Reagan from Launching Nuclear War: Most Urgent Task

By Vice-Chairman Sezaki Hiroyoshi of the Parliamentary Measure Committee of the Japan Communist Party

The Reagan Administration of the U.S. is trying to make Asia a nuclear-war theater. It is advertizing the "limited nuclear war", while keeping its country away from nuclear holocaust.

As a result, its nuclear submarines and Pacific Fleet are found operating in off Japan, visiting its ports such as Yokosuka, and many nuclear weapons are stockpiled in south Korea.

Indeed, because of the Reagan Administration, the danger of "limited nuclear war" is great. Preventing new war is an urgent task of the Japanese and Korean and other Asian peoples.

The Japanese Suzuki Cabinet is also strengthening the "U.S.-Japan-S. Korea military alliance" and is menacing peace in Asia and the world.

In such a situation, the most important for peace in Asia and the world is to increase support to the struggle for withdrawal of U.S. troops and nuclear weapons from south Korea and to accelerate Korea's reunification.

Let Us Protect World Peace With Disarmament

By Okimoto Yasuyuki of the Clean Government Party, Member of the House of Representatives

As everyone knows, the U.N. Disarmament Conference called upon the nations not to increase armament. However, in Japan, instead of disarmament, signs of increasing defense spending are in the Diet.

From this fact only, it is clear that Japan hinders peace in the world. As long as Japan has such a problem, we will not be able to attain lasting peace in Asia and the world.

By any means, war must be prevented and peace must be protected in the world.

No More Koroshima, Covering 6,300 Km

A no-more-Koroshima Osaka-Tokyo (600 km) through group forges through main streets of Shizuoka Prefecture, on July 17, braving down pours and raging winds.

"Me too" (On July 17, Shizuoka Prefecture)

Members of the Diet of the Japan Socialist Party chants "U.S. troops withdraw from south Korea!" and "Remove nuclear weapons from south Korea!" (On July 27, Tokyo)

Korean mothers demonstrate with pigeon-shaped placards reading independent reunification. (On July 26, Tokyo)

An old woman shouting "Korea is one!" and "Yankee go home!" (On July 7, Aichi Prefecture)

The Osaka-Tokyo through trekkers enter into the final leg of their no-more-Koroshima route, with prefectural contingents from western districts of Japan including Saga, Miyazaki and Yamaguchi prefectures. (On July 27, Tokyo)

1979 Syndrome for Gen. Chon

South Korea under Gen. Chon Du Hwan is approaching a grave crisis--a possibly a palace coup to replace him. The current developments there remind close observers of those on the eve of a second Pusan-Masan affair in October 1979 which led to the overthrow of the then strongman Gen. Pak Jung Hi.

Major Western dailies, of late, have run articles on deep-running political and economic changes, warning of a possible ouster of Gen. Chon through autumn. A specific warning was issued by Bruce Cumings, Korean expert at the University of Washington, in his recent contribution to The New York Times. In a virtual co-incidence, Robert W. Lundeen, Chairman of the Dow Chemical Co., the largest foreign corporate investor in south Korea, warned during a recent visit to Seoul, saying that the company is not "interested in investing 5 more cents in Korea until the present problems are straightened out," (The NYT, June 8) He said that uncertain economic and political conditions in south Korea make new investments there seem unattractive for the near future.

Since the beginning of this year, the Chon junta has faced a series of embarrassing setbacks: disclosure of a bribery scandal in connection with rice dealings with the U.S. (March); an "arson" at the American Cultural Center in Pusan and the burning of a Stars & Stripes (March); a collapse at a Seoul subway construction site which killed 10 workers (April); a massacre of 57 people by a deranged policeman in Uiryong County and the vast kerb-market scandal--which proved ~~the~~ most damaging (May).

The crisis of Gen. Chon and his junta was spotlighted by successive cabinet shake-ups--6 times since the beginning of this year. They were mere stopgap measures to escape public criticism over the above-mentioned blunders.

Then, what are posing threats to the survival of the Chon junta?

Growing Discontent within Military & Splits in Inner Circles

According to reliable sources in Seoul, severe criticisms of Gen. Chon came to the fore among young officers including a number of generals, including Gen. Chon's military secretary-general, in the wake of the $1 billion financial swindle. Sources told a staff reporter of The PK in telephones that certain front-line commander had said that "No. 1 (Gen. Chon) should assume the responsibility for the scandal in order to regain public trust." Afraid of a possible awkward reaction from the young officers, the sources said, Gen. Chon, of late, has called commanders of the three services to Chongwadae (the blue house) one by one to whom he~~-~~explained his non-involvement in the scandal and asked for their allegiance. Jawboning session included even Gen. Chon's military academy classmate Gen. Chong Yong Ho, commander of the 3rd Army, a clear sign of the loosening of his grip on the military.

Referring to a possible move of senior military officials against Gen. Chon, Newsweek wrote in its August 2 issue: "South Korea's military leaders--Chun's crucial base of support--are counting on the government's new program to revive the economy and calm political unrest. Should it fail, the generals may hold Chun responsible--and force him out well before his seven-year term is over."

Gen. Chon has consolidated his dictatorial power by utilizing the all-powerful military. However, some conflicts have been brewing between Chon's camp of officials and disgruntled young officers and senior generals.

On the other hand, rumors reaching from Seoul say that a very critical confrontation are going on between the Agency for National Security Planning (NSP) and the National Defense Security Command (NDSC).

The rumors say that the NSP submitted to Gen. Chon a memorandum how to deal with the growing anti-Chon, anti-American sentiments. Defining the present situation as similar to that on the eve of the downfall of the Pak junta, the NSP report recommended "flexible measures." This stand was opposed by the NDSC which insisted on "hard-line measures."

The reported NSP-NDSC feud resembles the fatal disagreement between ex-director Kim Jae Gyu of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, an assassin of the late strongman and Cha Ji Chol, "ex-presidential" chief bodyguard. Their conflict preceded the assassination of Pak Jung Hi: When south Korea under Gen. Pak Jung Hi plunged into the worst crisis with the Pusan-Masan affair in October 1979, Kim Jae Gyu advised Gen. Pak to take "soft-line measures". But, as "hard-line measures" were adopted by Cha Ji Chol, ~~Kim~~ being afraid of a more serious mass uprising, shot Gen. Pak to death in his own bid to forestall the worst consequence.

In the eyes of the public, the business community and those abroad, in particular foreign investors, successive cabinet reshuffles, which affected a total of about 40 ministers, amply illustrated insecurity in south Korea. The cabinet changes which were called by foreign dailies "coup-like" ~~-~~ present constant changes in the inner circles.

Role of Anti-Americanism

A key reason why democratic dissident forces refrained from taking determined action against the successive juntas and remained split has been their shared hope that Washington would eventually pressure Seoul to restore democratic ordeal as they believe the U.S. is their friend.

This expection has fast disappeared, giving way to strong anti-Americanism.

The following incidents are illustrative:

- The Mar. 18 arson at the U.S. Cultural Center in Pusan (students)
- The Apr. 15 anti-U.S. statement by the Korean Christian Action Organization (Christians)
- The Apr. 22 burning of the Stars and Stripes by students of Kangwon National Univ. (students)
- The May 21 anti-U.S. press interview by ex-President Kim Yong Sam of the banned Opposition New Democratic Party with The New York Times
- The June 4 detention of two American company officials by female workers of the Control Data Korea Co

These developments have alarmed the informed Americans: "Now with the burning of the American Cultural Center in Pusan on March 18, the United States is confronted with anti-Americanism unparalleled in the 100 years since it opened diplomatic relations with Korea," (Donald L. Ranard, former Korea desk chief of the Department of State, The NYT, Apr. 26).

In particular, the burning of the Stars and Stripes is the first time since the 80-year-long extensive American presence. The churches once pro-American strongholds, urged the recall of the two U.S. diplomatic and military representatives--ambassador to Seoul Walker and commander in Seoul Gen. Wickham. Students, pace setter for the dissident movement and formerly anti-Japanese, have been vigorously leading their anti-U.S. drive. Their slogans include "Yankee Go Home!" They perceive the U.S. pressure as the main cause of the problems.

Kim Yong Sam, leader of the former No. 1 Opposition NDP, in an interview with The New York Times, defended the motive

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The Mar. 18 "arson" at the American Cultural Center in Pusan is one of clear illustration of growing anti-Americanism among the south Korean people.

NYT: Devil to Pay in Seoul

Follows an excerpt from the contribution sent by Mr. Bruce Cumings, a teacher of the University of Washington, to The New York Times dated July 6:

South Korea today is in the midst of a deep-running, three-year-old crisis. In October 1979 this crisis brought the downfall of Park Chung Hee, and today it threatens his successor Chun Doo Hwan. Also in jeopardy is the American relationship with Korea, now in its centennial year. Why? Because three American Presidents over the past decade have ignored, or supported, the repression of democratic dissidents.

Recent events, however bad, only symbolize this crisis. There will be worse to come. In March, student dissidents torched the American Cultural Center in Pusan and attacked the American role in backing President Chun and in aiding the suppression of the Kwangju rebellion of May 1980. Theology students did this, and their Roman Catholic priests sheltered them while arranging for their surrender. Now the fathers are on trial under the harsh National Security Law, and the students are termed Marxists. In May came the worst financial scandal in Korean history. Shady manipulations on the informal money market running into the hundreds of millions of dollars shook an economy that exists on state-controlled credit. Several companies went bankrupt, much of the Cabinet resigned and President Chun drew the wagons around the Blue House, stonewalling amid allegations that the loan sharks had close ties to him and his wife. In early June, women who are electronics workers held two American hostage for nine hours, until the American Embassy notified the Korean police and had the workers arrested.

President Chun's now-frail power has had three bases: close ties to the Reagan Administration, the prospect of a revived economy and campaigns against the corruption of the Park regime (a moral rearmament movement began just before the scandal). Now close observers, including an American with decades of experience in Seoul, are predicting that Mr. Chun will not last through the fall; they expect a palace coup to remove him.

Such a move would do nothing about the underlying problems in South Korea: authoritarian politics, burgeoning anti-Americanism and economic stagnation. Three years ago, the crisis began with incidents like those today. A major conglomerate went bankrupt amid rumors of scandal. Female textile workers occupied the office of the opposition party, and one woman died when the police moved in. Then the industrial cities of Pusan and Masan erupted in mass demonstrations, leading to martial law. Yet the most important event of the summer of 1979 was the visit to Seoul of President Carter.

Liberals in Korea, rightly or wrongly, had long looked to Washington to temper the authoritarianism of President Park Chung Hee and, before him, Syngman Rhee. Until the 1970's, American pressure assured at least a formal democratic facade with relative freedom of speech, periodic elections and constitutional guarantees of basic rights that were honored more in the breach but were still there to be invoked. In 1972, however, President Nixon looked the other way as Mr. Park made himself President for Life, immeasurably strengthened the Korean Central Intelligence Agency and allowed the use of increasingly vile tortures against dissidents. The church became the last refuge from the Government. Still no visible protest came from Washington.

But President Carter, vintage 1977 and 1978 with his human rights policy, was loved by the dissidents and loathed by the Park Government. Mr. Carter vintage 1979, however, had given up applying human rights standards to Korea, and his widely publicized toasting of Mr. Park on his visit in June 1979, when he also tried to convert him to Christianity, deeply enraged dissidents. President Reagan's first foreign policy act was to invite Mr. Chun to visit Washington, but that simply continued the Carter trend.

Our representatives in Seoul seem utterly insensitive to democratic demands. Ambassador Richard L. Walker recently referred to the dissidents as a "spoiled brat," while Gen. John A. Wickham Jr., commander of American forces, stated a while back: "Koreans are like field mice, they just follow whoever becomes their leader. Democracy is not an adequate system for Koreans." None of them understand the centrality of the Kwangju rebellion.

Kwangju remains the touchstone of dissident and democratic politics. It made the suppression of Solidarity in Poland seem like child's play. Hundreds of dissidents say thousands), and until the Government atones for the deaths there will be no peace. Here, too, the United States is involved: General Wickham released Korean troops under his command for use in Kwangju, the embassy refused dissident requests to mediate the conflict, and since then the United States has backed President Chun to the hilt.

All this fed a growing anti-Americanism. Professors in Seoul say a majority of their students are now anti-American and many have become interested in radical third world ideologies. Some professors have had to curtail exchanges with Americans in fear of student protests. The Government coerces them into lecturing on how Korea's economic relations with the United States do not breed dependency, as most students think.

Behind all this stands the worsening of the economy and the end of the Korean miracle. In the summer of 1979 the export-led development program ran aground amid rampant protectionism in the world, a reduced flow of technology, competition from other industrializing countries and a diminished comparative advantage in labor costs. The gross national product fell 6 percent in 1980, in 1981 the economy barely recovered its 1979 level, and in mid-1982 economic indicators portend continuing stagnation. The debt burden is a whopping $33 billion, higher than Poland's. Growing unemployment and vast underemployment anger workers and threaten the growing middle class.

The biggest loss, for Koreans and Americans, is the end of hopes that Washington would nurture the sprouts of democracy. Now there will be the devil to pay.

Bruce Cumings teaches Korean politics at the University of Washington and is the author of "The Origins of the Korean War."

1979 Syndrome for Gen. Chon

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which led the burning of the U.S. Cultural Center and urged the U.S. not to help the dictatorial rule of Gen. Chon.

The democratic dissident forces which have been united by anti-Americanism form a parallel to their amalgamation just before the Oct. 1979 Pusan-Masan incident.

Three years ago, the democratic alliance was kicked by the death of one of female workers of Seoul's Y.H. Trading Co. during their sit-in at the NDP headquarters, which resulted from a police raid. The workers were seeking public support for their opposition to planned closing of their company.

The police action paved the way for unity among the workers, Christians, opposition and students against the then Pak Jung Hi junta.

The incident was coupled with arrests of church-affiliated individuals on charges of harboring the workers.

The issue underlined the bankruptcy of the high growth policy of the Pak junta and its draconic rule. The long-pentup grievances were near explosion. Kim Yong Sam denounced the police suppression of the Y.H. workers in national assembly sessions.

This time, the American Cultural Center fire has played the role of a catalyst in the regrouping of democratic dissident forces.

First, the churches pitted themselves openly against the Chon junta when father Choe Gi Sik was detained for his alleged role in harboring students involved in the "arson". The conflict was further sharpened by the arrest of 6,000 people after the burning to the ACC, as the 6 million-strong Christians, from liberal to conservative, were united in a rare move.

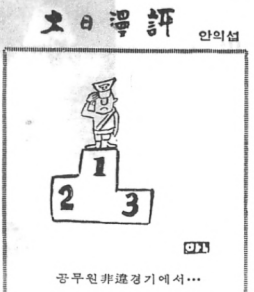
The Council for Justice and peace, a human rights group in Seoul, in its statement published in June 7, called on Gen. Chon and his junta to make a "courageous decision to step down." It said that south Korea is "facing the most unfortunate situation" since 1948. The Christian's militancy, as shown by almost all the dozen Catholic bishops, was induced by the political trial of 15 persons on charges of involvement with arson at the U.S. Cultural Center.

Kim Yong Sam told a reporter of The New York Times on April 26 that the March 18 "arson" was a "grave sign of anti-American feeling" among workers and students. He attributed it to U.S. support for Gen. Chon. The NYT, Apr. 29 quoted one of Mr. Kim's aides as saying "six months ago, Kim was pro-American, but now he's wavering." In his June 1 interview with The NYT, Kim also said Chon could not last longer than this coming autumn because of the vast financial scandal.

The labor disputes at a number of concerns owned by major foreign corporations proved most annoying to the Chon junta.

The 1971 special measure on national defense prohibits any labor strike or trade union at a foreign concern in a bid to attract foreign investments. The south Korean economy is virtually dominated by foreign corporations and in particular American and Japanese concerns.

The most serious labor dispute occurred at a U.S.-owned computer parts plant in Seoul. About 100 female workers of the Control Data Korea Co. on June 5 held two American vice-presidents hostage for 9-1/2 hours in their demand for the reinstatement of six of union leaders. They had been illegally dismissed on Mar. 13 during collective bargaining on wage increases.



'In the wrong-doing race of public officials'

THE TAEJON ILBO, JULY 3

The two Americans were freed after the U.S. Embassy in Seoul alerted the south Korean foreign ministry and the police. The police rushed to the company and took 55 workers into custody, almost all of them young women. Since the raid, the workers have continued their struggle for the rehire of six union leaders and release of the arrested colleagues. Their repeated drive resulted in the first permanent shutdown of foreign business operation in south Korea on July 20.

The Control Data Korea workers' action has been given solidarity from other foreign venture employees. The Chon junta is terrified at a possible chain reaction which will result in the reduction or shutdown of many other foreign ventures in south Korea.

The continuing labor strikes and the resulting atmosphere of insecurity and unrest have discouraged the arrival of foreign capital.

Economic Ills No Change

As in the Pusan-Masan affair which predated the October 1979 assassination of Gen. Pak, the economic troubles are equally wide-spread and serious.

For 6 months till the Pusan-Masan affair, south Korean companies, large and small, went bankrupt one after another due to the recession. In April, the Ryulsan Group which consisted of 14 enterprises and one of the ten biggest groups in south Korea, defaulted. In May, the Wonjin Rayon Co., one of the leading textile makers, was placed under bank control, which the Ilsin Company went down with its bills amounting to 200 million won dishonored. Other big concerns such as the Hyundai Group and the Taehan Chonson Group were deep in trouble.

In the first half of the year, more than 50,000 workers lost jobs and it was expected that in the latter half of the year 70,000 more would be rendered jobless.

In the present situation, the vast financial scandal has produced numbers of corporate insolvencies including those of three big enterprises: Ilssin Steel Co.; Kong Yung Construction Co.; and Sam Jin Alminium Co. As of July 10, 20 concerns declared their insolvencies. As a result of successive corporate bankruptcy, a large number of workers lost their jobs.

"In South Korea, a social upheaval is bound to occur if the number of the jobless people is over 1 million," noted the June 20 issue of the Nihon Keizai Shimbun.

According to an announcement made by the economic planning board on July 17, a total of 833,000 persons were without jobs as of the end of March this year, an increase of 242,000 from the comparable period last year. The jobless rate stood at 5.6 percent as of the end date. A survey compiled by the economic planning board in February this year indicated 630,000 potential jobless workers. Therefore, a total of numbers of jobless people might be around 1,550,000 even according to materials issued by the Chon junta.

In south Korea any worker who works around one hour a week is counted as the employed.

Sky-rocketing price increases force the workers to be desperate in their struggle for existence.

In July, 1979, Gen. Pak announced 59 percent price hike in petroleum and a 35 percent jump in electricity rates. The drastic price boost in oil upped the prices of 40 oil products at an average rate of 48 percent. Reflecting this situation, the female workers of the Y.H. Trading Co. conducted sit-ins in the NDP headquarters.

A survey compiled by the ministry of labour on June 24 emphasized an average monthly wage of the whole workers is only 180,000 won in 1981, an increase of only 20 percent from the comparable period the previous year. The survey also set the percentage of those workers whose average monthly wages is under 100,000 won. In the national assembly session held on July 2, the opposition party members criticized the Chon junta, by saying that "the number of the poorest people will over 30 percent of the whole population (about 10,000,000) in the end of this year." (The Dong-A Ilbo, July 3)

South Korea, this year, has to make a total of $6 billion of the principal and interest payments. This is tantamount to the controversial economic aid to Seoul from Japan.

The effort to induct more foreign credit has not been working well. The World Bank, in its recent report, said that south Korea should make a downward adjustment of its foreign capital introduction plan. Bad situation of foreign credit introduction delay the start of the 5th five-year economic development plan.

In an attempt to overcome the economic doldrums, the Chon junta has adopted the so-called "major new economic measures", including devaluation of wons. However, they are only stopgap measures.

(By Cho Sang Ok)

NYT: Dow Finds Fault with S. Korea

The following is a gist of the article run in the July 8 issue of The New York Times:

While officials of South Korea and Japan were negotiating a major aid package for Seoul this week, the chairman of the Dow Chemical Company, the largest foreign corporate investor in South Korea, warned during a visit here that uncertain economic and political conditions in South Korea make new investments there seem unattractive for the near future.

"These are difficult days in South Korea," said Robert W. Lundeen, Dow's chairman, adding that he would advise other companies considering investing in South Korea "to weigh the risk-reward equation very carefully" first.

Mr. Lundeen described himself as basically a "Korea booster." "But we're not interested in investing 5 more cents' in Korea until the present problems are straightened out," he declared.

Mr. Lundeen attributed the uncertainty in South Korea to sluggish exports caused by the worldwide recession and to an administration that is "still trying to get its act together."

President Chun Doo Hwan, who came to power in mid-1980, has reshuffled his Cabinet five times this year in response to various setbacks, notably a major financial scandal involving his wife's family.

The Government predicted early last year that the value of South Korea's exports would grow nearly 25 percent in 1982. In this year's first four months, however, exports increased only 4.2 percent. In the domestic economy, recovery has been slower than expected. In June the Government lowered interest rates and cut taxes in an effort to increase investment and consumer spending.

For its part, Dow Chemical has invested $150 million in South Korea through a wholly owned subsidiary, Dow Chemical Korea Ltd., and a 50-50 joint venture, the Korea Pacific Chemical Corporation.

Apparently the biggest problem lies with the joint venture. Set up in 1969, it produces low-densit polyethylene, ethylene dichloride and vinyl chloride monomer, which are used in making films, toys, plastic pipe and other products.

Dow's direct subsidiary supplies it with chlorine and caustic soda.

Merger Proposed by Dow

Dow estimates that, during the last two years, it has lost a total of $60 million in South Korea. To improve matters, Dow wants to merge the joint venture with its wholly owned unit. Under its proposal, the Korean partners would hold 30 percent of the combined enterprise.

Dow Chemical is pressing Seoul to remove the joint venture's president and three other Korean executives who were nominated by the Government. Dow insists they have little business experience.

At the end of May, Mr. Lundeen met with President Chun and other Korean officials in Seoul, but no action resulted. Dow has already sued its partners in a Korean court, and next week it plans to *file a case with the International* Court of Arbitration in Paris.

NEWSWEEK ON CHON'S CRISIS

(Continued from page 1)

demand for loans. That burgeoning of the money supply could push South Korea's 5.5 percent annual inflation rate back into high double dig-its—and force the government to sharply devalue the won.

Many South Koreans clearly share those fears. Shortly after the measures were announced, the black market price for U.S. dollars jumped 10 percent as investors rushed to trade in their won. When dollars became scarce, many turned to buying gold—so much so that last week the government started selling from its own reserves in an effort to satisfy the growing demand.

Chun's program is also running into political trouble. Powerful special-interest groups are lobbying for changes in the announced new policies—and the government's efforts to appease them may further jeopardize the plan's chances for success. South Koreans are incensed over a proposal to eliminate anonymous bank accounts. And many companies are especially anxious to retain their tax breaks and subsidized loans. If Seoul gives in, it will lose badly needed revenues—but some tinkering seems inevitable. "I'm sure we are going to modify the program," says one legislator. "We have to—everyone I talk to is against it."

Despite the program's lack of support, it's oaky-credit policies has an unmistakable political aim: elimination of the multibillion-dollar curb-money market. For years authorities have looked the other way as firms borrowed money at exorbitant interest rates from South Korea's informal network of private bankers. But Chun was forced to tighten up after "Curb-Money Queen" Chang Yong Ja and her husband, Lee Chol Hi, a former South Korean intelligence official, were arrested last May in a $1 billion loan swindle. The scandal directly touched the government: a close relative of Chun's wife, Soon Ja Lee, was implicated.

Women: Chun engineered several top-level Cabinet changes to try to satisfy critics. But that task was complicated by the unpopularity of his wife, who has angered many Korean traditionalists with her flashes of imperial arrogance—and her preference for Western ways. At Chun's Inauguration last year, Soon Ja Lee was criticized for wearing a dress designed in the style of ancient dynastic queen. Since then, she has endorsed some Western-style liberalizations for Korean women and frequently appears at Chun's side on official occasions. Says one dismayed Korean male: "Park Chung Hee's wife always kept three paces behind."

South Korea has another tradition that could mean trouble for Chun. Under Confucian teachings, a ruler must take responsibility for all misfortunes that occur during his reign—even those he could not have prevented. So far, Chun has survived by juggling his government after every crisis. That strategy may no longer be enough. South Korea's military leaders—Chun's crucial base of support—are counting on the government's new program to revive the economy and calm political unrest. Should it fail, the generals may hold Chun responsible—and force him out well before his seven-year term is over.

KOREA COMMUNIQUE:

Torture: Horrors Continue

Introduced here, is an appeal against torture signed by all the families of persons arrested in the "Democratic Student Federation" and the "Democratic Labor Federation" cases.

The appeal revealed the torture committed by investigative and prison officials against political detainees and showed the fact that the torture has been systematically employed against political detainees.

The appeal was carried in the June 15 issue of Korea Communique, which is published by the Japan Emergency Christian Conference on Korean Problems.

According to Korea Communique, the following "Appeal Against Torture" invited immediate retaliation from the junta of Gen. Chon. Reprisal took place against those responsible for its issuance. At 2:00 on the morning of January 9, the homes of prisoners' families were raided, searched, and several family members taken for hours or days of investigation, with warnings against reference to torture. . .

Follows the full text of appeal.

We pray that God's great love and peace be with you.

Whenever or wherever the widely-spread rumor originated, accusing Lee Tae-bok as a communist and reporting the capture of tens or hundreds of others said to be involved in this incident, we – the families of these accused persons – were for a long time stricken with fear by these rumors, and did not dare to meet each other, though we shared this common suffering.

As time passes, the facts have slowly been made clear, and with the warm comfort and encouragement of many persons, we are helped to overcome our great fear and loneliness. Once again we give thanks to you and to God.

It has been extremely hard to endure, hearing the stories of all kinds of unbearable torture suffered by our loved ones under arrest, to the extent that some are said to be in serious condition. We are even more bewildered by the fact that we have not been permitted to visit them once during more than four months since their arrest, so we cannot find out their actual condition; however, there is nowhere to appeal, and we are very resentful of this situation.

October 21, 1981 - When the trial opened, we waited impatiently as each prisoner told the truth – that this incident was an unbelievable fabrication made by means of various harsh and terrible torture. At the succeeding trial sessions, while the defendants told of their severe torture, we were frustrated because they did not describe it in detail. we thought, "The torture was too horrible, so they are still overwhelmed with terror and cannot tell everything," and we felt we would go mad. As the questioning of the defendants began, however, the experiences of water torture, torture by electrical shock and mob beatings were gradually reported. The family members of Mr. Song Youn-in, hearing at the trial about how his jawbone had been broken, wept as if their hearts would burst. They stayed up all that night, unable to sleep.

December 26, 1981 - The two incidents (comprising the Kwangmin-sa case as a whole) were merged in a joint trial of the 26 defendants for the first time on this day; and in the course of presentation of evidence, the real facts came pouring out about the dreadful, savage torture of Lee Tae-bok by the investigative agency.

When at that moment it was revealed that the thing we had long feared was indeed a reality, we were so filled with a mixture of rage and grief at this absolutely unforgivable action by the investigative authorities, that we did not know what to do.

There may be persons who, having heard similar torture stories before, will not be especially shocked at this, or will even feel indifference. But when the authorities were plainly aware of the situation, as revealed at the trial, we cannot understand why such cruel torture was inflicted. We want to know the reason why these 26 arrested persons – all of whom acted out of their constant longing for democratization of society and the restoration of humanity – were lumped together for such harsh torture branded as communists and anti-state criminals.

It may be that other torture stories will surface, or instances of unforgettable suffering; but we are informing you of this present situation in order that such tragic incidents may not recur in our society.

"At the investigation place, Mr. Lee was stripped naked, tied to the inner lining board of a coffin and beaten. Then he was subjected to water torture, followed by electric shock torture. Unable to endure, his body reacted with convulsions, vomiting and diarrhea, and finally he passed out. . ."

On June 9, 1981, Lee Tae-bok, president of Kwangmin-sa Publishing Company, visited his mother's house in the country to wish her a happy birthday. As he was on his way back to work the next day, at about 12:40 p.m., he was suddenly grabbed by strange men who emerged from a black sedan, was blindfolded, and was forced into the car. As soon as the car started moving, the men began accusing him menacingly, "You're the ringleader." "You're the ringleader." "You're a Commie, aren't you?" "Do you hate Commies?", labeling him a communist. He replied, "I have never believed in communism" but from that moment the torture began.

At the investigation place, Mr. Lee was stripped naked, tied to the inner lining board of a coffin and beaten. Then he was put into a bathtub and subjected to "water torture." This was followed by electric shock torture. Unable to endure, his body reacted with convulsions, vomiting and diarrhea, and finally he passed out. When he regained his senses, he was again put through water and electric shock torture, then "the sole of the foot" (a torture method developed in Spain under Franco); and he was stabbed in the sensitive inner parts of his thighs. They ordered him to admit that 2,000 some persons had formed an anti-state organization, but he was unwilling to "confess" to such a ridiculous charge, having no connection himself with such an organization, and knowing his statement would harm so many others; so he bore the torment for a week, until June 16.

Two days after he was detained, Mr. Lee was forced to phone Kwangmin-sa and tell his staff, "I'm traveling, so take good care of things." The agents remarked, "Nobody knows you are here, so it's all right if we kill you." "We're going to tie a rock to you and throw you in the Han River," they went on – "We'll toss you across the military demarcation line so you'll be shot, then you'll have your wish to go to north Korea. That's what we should do." "Do you think that Law Professor So-and-So committed suicide by hanging? ** Isn't this the same kind of case? " In this manner they threatened many times to kill him.

*(**This refers to the case some years back when a Seoul National University law professor was killed during investigation. It was reported as a suicide.)*

"Nobody knows you are here, so it's all right if we kill you... We're going to tie a rock to you and throw you in the Han River," the investigating agents continued, threatening many times to kill him. . .

In the midst of the severe torture and threats of death, he went back and forth between consciousness and unconsciousness. On June 16, Lee Sun-geun was captured, and the investigators announced: "Lee Sun-geun has confessed that he got orders from you to organize an anti-state group, so it's no use for you to deny it any longer." Lee Tae-bok was thereby forced to confess falsely; in order to save his life he had to write out a confession according to the demands of his torturers and to stamp it with his own official seal. When he was taken to the investigation place, he knew only that there existed some kind of student organization, but he did not know the names of any of its members, so he just wrote as the agents instructed. Following that also, whenever he refused to write as ordered, he was again continuously tortured.

When Mr. Lee was turned over to the Prosecutor for investigation, he was again tortured severely to the point of desperation. In the process of interrogation, he told them, "At the investigation place I was tortured into a false confession. I am not a communist." They replied, "We know," but continued pressing him to write a statement identical to the one forced earlier.

"I would rather die than go through another time of torture" – thinking this, and realizing that the truth would have to come out in court, Lee finally signed the statement. Before the trial, the defendants were called in by the prosecutor one by one, and ordered: "This incident is well known, all the way to the top, so take a proper attitude at the trial, and don't make any political speeches." Perhaps the prosecutor wasn't sure if his orders carried enough weight, so he went even further: **"If you show an improper attitude at the trial, you will get the death penalty."**

Not only Lee Tae-bok, but also Lee Sun-geun, Park Moon-shik, Shin Chul-young, Kim Chul-soo, and all the others underwent similar torture. In the case of Song Young-in, who had shared an apartment with Lee Tae-bok for three months when he was a factory worker, the agents accused: "You are the appointed successor to Lee Tae-bok, so how is it possible that you didn't learn communist beliefs from him? " "You planned to establish a socialist state through violent revolution." Mr. Song testified that he was ordered to confess to this fabrication, and was assaulted continuously until his lower jawbone was broken.

Yang Seung-jo, a worker who only finished junior high school, testified that he was ordered by the investigative agents to confess: "When I saw Marx's Dialectics for the first time, I could not understand its contents, so I gave it to another worker." Nevertheless, he said, he was beaten so badly that he could not walk. He was tortured again during the prosecution examination, and when he refused to acknowledge part of the prepared confession he was to sign, they called in the agent who had conducted the earlier interrogation and asked him, "Why did you bother saving this guy? Why didn't you just kill him? "

Many persons reported undergoing prosecution interrogation in this kind of coercive atmosphere, along with torture, in the presence of many investigative agents. Therefore, how could the defendants freely express their true intentions?

The 26 arrested persons were held without warrant and brutalized for periods ranging from 20 days at the shortest to 40 days at the longest. They suffered water torture and electric shock torture, were forced to walk on nail-studded boards, and were beaten severely by organized groups of agents. These and other sorts of torture as well were carried out under a situation of intimidation, as a result of which it was impossible not to sign the false confessions. The treatment of these persons went beyond simple abuse: it was a cold-blooded, inhuman act. We earnestly hope that you will show your concern and exert strong efforts in order that the events of the summer of 1981 will not be repeated in this land.

Our bones ache with the acute awareness of just how precious is human freedom. We pray with all our hearts that there will never again occur such a merciless trampling of the dignity of human beings, who were created in the image of God.

This kind of "confession" to the prosecution charges, obtained through torture, is absolutely inadmissible in a nation under constitutional law. Again, we ask your help to ensure that the process of trial (held from October 21, 1981, through January 22, 1982; appellate trial to be completed within four months of first court's ruling, according to the law) will be fair, so that the innocence of the defendants in these so-called "National Students Federation" and "National Labor Federation" incidents may be proved.

The persons arrested in relation to the "National Student Federation" did no more than express their desire for democratization of the campuses and democratization of our society. According to their testimony, not one of them ever accepted communist ideas, nor did they ever act with the purpose of benefiting the enemy. Student witnesses for the prosecution all said, "To lead a student demonstration is to risk one's future, and therefore, no one gets orders from anyone else for such a decision. It must be decided by oneself."

At the trial the defendants cried out that in the present reality, where the press is muzzled, the investigative agents sit in attendance in the lecture rooms, and the necessary words of knowledge and learning cannot be spoken, the purpose of the student movement is to call for true peace and freedom. According to a certain research institute, "The reference books and other materials formally recommended by professors during their lectures are seditious books; and these seditious books are read (by the students), or they acquire those kinds of thoughts."

As the book stores have registered their books with the Ministry of Culture and Information and have received official permission, and even now these are being sold to the public, we are at a loss to understand how it is that these same books are then called "pro-communist" and the Anti-Communist Law is applied to prosecute persons who read them.

We want to ask the reason for one-sidedly labeling so many books as "pro-communist" – books read by students who are prohibited from speaking the truth, students who, out of their just and legitimate historical and social consciousness, are seeking to live lives worthy of persons.

During the trial session on December 29, a witness present, Mr. Hong Ji-young (well-known for his previous attacks on the World Council of Churches and Korea National Council of Churches), made a foolish statement. He said: "The World Council of Churches and National Council of Churches in Korea are infiltrated by communists, and they are receiving tactical support from communist groups," and he further accused Paulo Freire (a member of the Education Committee of WCC who is reknowned for his teaching and activities for free and democratic education) as a communist.

At the investigative agency, arrested persons were told, "We have reported that a big incident has been uncovered, but you say nothing more than meetings and demonstrations happened; therefore we cannot report to the higher agency. So admit to being socialists!" They were thus forced, while being tortured, to sign the false confessions.

Those arrested in connection with the so-called "National Labor Federation" only want the humani-

(Continued on Page 7)

Photo: So Chun Shik (left), and So Sung (right), who was tortured during his detention, with his ears minus. The So brothers were arrested in April 1970 together with other students over the faked-up campus spy-ring case. They are still detained under the Public Security Law, although their terms expired long ago.

Historical Relics of DPRK (5)

Slender Bronze Daggers:

Non-Existent "Lo-lang County"

(Continued from the previous issue)

A lute-shaped stiletto of the early period of Kochoson developed into a slender bronze dagger in the later period of Kochoson. A slender bronze dagger is also made up of separately molded blade, hilt, and head of the grip like a lute-shaped stiletto. The shape of the blade is distincts from these of bronze daggers in other countries.

Influence on Japan

Slender bronze daggers of the early period were seen in the 5th-4th centuries B.C. Some 7 slender daggers have been found in the areas of the Liao-tung district and Hwanghae provinces including the tombs of Ertaohetzu, Kiangchia-shan, Liao-yang (China) and of Chongbong-ri, Sinkye County, North Hwanghae Province.

In the areas north of the Chongchon River there is no culture characterized by slender bronze daggers. This was because an iron culture developed in the areas north of the Chongchon River - the Sechukri remains, Nyongbyon County, North Pyongan Province and the Lienhua remains, Fushun City, Liao-ning Province (China) show the development of an iron culture. In the areas north of the Chongchon River farming implements as well as weapons and other tools were also began to be made of iron. Iron daggers excavated from the Kaolichai remains, Hsinchin-hsien, Liao-ning Province make us suppose that the shape of lute-shaped stilettoes was inherited. This indicates a course of evolution of bronze to iron weapons.

The iron culture was not in full bloom in the Pyongyang district and the Hwanghae provinces, where the culture characterized by slender bronze daggers was very much developed in the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C.

The representative relics are slender bronze daggers in the areas south of the Chongchon River where unique relics were found. Among the relics were slender bronze halberds, bronze spears, palanquins with vehicles, subtle parallel line-patterned mirrors, deep-bottomed earthenware and cylindrical vases.

At first, these relics were kept in mounds and began to be kept in wooden coffins from the later half period of the 2nd century B.C. Until the 1st century B.C these relics were kept in wooden coffins. In mounds, not so many ironware items were found. When the deceased were laid in state in wooden coffins, bronze weapons such as lute-shaped stilettoes were not buried together with them.

With about the 3rd century B.C. as a turning-point, a difference is seen between the relics found in the areas north of the Chongchon River and those in the areas south of the Chongchon River. The reason is not clear.

In the case of earthenware items, double-brimmed earthenware items were made in the Liao-tung district and the northwestern areas of Korea in the bronze age. In the areas north of the Chongchon River flat-bottomed earthenware items were made and top-shaped earthenware items with small stands in the areas south of the Chongchon River. The regional difference is seen between the relics found in areas north of the Chongchon River and those in the areas south of the Chongchon River. The difference became distinct after the 3rd century B.C. Relics found in the areas south of the Chongchon River begin to show their unique features.

The culture characterized by slender bronze daggers, which developed in the areas south of the Chongchon River, was introduced into Chinguk and the areas occupied by the three Han tribes. It developed as a culture of the later period of Ancient Korea in the territories of the three Han tribes. The culture represented by slender bronze daggers was introduced into the western districts of Japan via the kingdoms of the three Han tribes, exerted an influence on the ancient metal culture of Japan.

Unique Culture of Korea

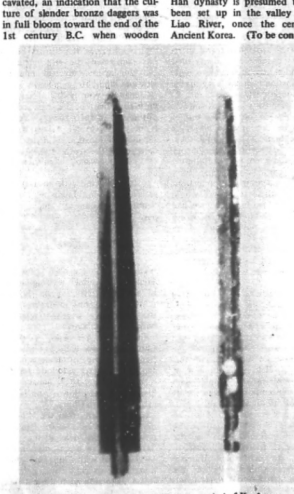
The culture represented by slender bronze daggers is essentially different from the culture of the Central Plains of China, and is a culture characteristic of Kochoson. It is strange that in Japan the Pyongyang=Lo-lang County theory is still dominant among historians. According to this view, in 108 B.C. Wu-ti of the Han dynasty conquered Kochoson and organized the conquered territory into four counties including Lo-lang County, which existed until the beginning of the 4th century, dominated the areas from Pyongyang to Hwanghae provinces. Remains found in those areas belonged to a province of the Han dynasty represented a culture transplanted from China.

The Lo-lang remains in Pyongyang was looted and destroyed during the colonial days. After the liberation of the country, the remains were studied by archaeologists of the DPRK. More than 100 new-type wooden coffins were excavated, an indication that the culture of slender bronze daggers was in full bloom toward the end of the 1st century B.C. when wooden coffins were used. This means that during 100 years after the establishment of Lo-lang County, the culture characterized by slender bronze daggers developed in the Pyongyang district. No vestiges remained of a Chinese culture in the district.

A small number of Chinese bronze mirrors were excavated. In those days China exported numbers of mirrors to foreign countries. The discovery of Chinese mirrors and some of lacquer ware items is nothing but an indication of economic and cultural exchange between Ancient Korea and China in those days. More Chinese mirrors were found in Japan than in Korea. This doesn't mean that Japan was under the control of China. It is not logical to say that some of the relics found in the Pyongyang district prove the Pyongyang=Lo-lang theory.

The Kochoson people there used wooden coffins, which later developed into wooden long-frame coffins and brick-built rooms during the period from Anno Domini to the 4th century A.D. One corpse was buried in a separate wooden coffin each of man and wife, while a couple was buried together in one wooden long-frame coffin. A lot of relics including fancy gold and silver accessories and lacquer ware items were found in wooden long-frame coffins, an indication that wooden long-frame coffins could not be those for low-ranking people such as officials of "four counties of the Han dynasty." Excavated from the No.9 grave of Sokamri were many relics such as fancy gilted accessories.

The Lo-lang remains in the Pyongyang area originated in the Kochoson culture. The Pyongyang area was dominated by the remnants of Kochoson people until Pyongyang was absorbed by Koguryo. Lo-lang County of the Han dynasty is presumed to have been set up in the valley of the Liao River, once the center of Ancient Korea. (To be continued)



Bronze daggers belonging to the later period of Kochoson

Relics of Kaesong, Ancient Capital

Manwoldae

Stone base and steps of Manwoldae

When the new dynasty of Koryo moved its capital from Kyongju (the capital of Silla) to Kaesong, from the broad plains to a hillish country, the new condition required a new style of buildings and this gave a stimulus to a new development of architecture.

King Wangkon constructed his palace on Manwoldae at the present Manwol-dong district in Kaesong City.

The palace was surrounded by many castles and the city formed a fortress. Manwoldae meant sometimes the castles of Kaesong in the entirety and sometimes the height (65,550 square metres) in the city, on which the principal palace and some other palaces were located.

Though these buildings were burnt by the Hongdu bandits in 1361, records on them remain, telling us that the palace was the most excellent one in Korean history.

Manwoldae was planned after the pattern of a Chinese style palace but as it was built over a broad area, including the slope of Mt. Songak-san, the design had to be changed in some respects.

In the centre of Manwoldae, Hoegyong-jon palace was located. (*-jon* is the Korean for the palace.) Hoegyong-jon was the principal palace where the king and the aristocrats gathered every morning. The floor space was 4,300 square metres. It was built on the big stone base 42 metres wide and 16 metres high. This stone base stands until today without superstructure.

Behind Hoegyong-jon, there were palaces called Changhwa-jon, Wondok-jon and Chahwa-jon and below Hoegyong-jon were also many other palaces, including Kondok-jon.

On Manwoldae, it is said that twenty gates were erected totally.

One could reach Hoegyong-jon, passing through Kwanghwa gate, the principal gate of the palace, the two-storeyed Sungpyong gate, Sinbong gate and Changhap gate: Hoegyong-jon had four front gates and this was the different style from the palaces of Silla, which had two in general.

(Continued from Page 6)

zation and democratization of labor society. They believe that only when the laborers – who have made a great contribution to national development – receive humane treatment in their working places, will they feel pride as Korean citizens.

These defendants stated that their intention was to share the pains of the laborers and to give them necessary assistance, however little, in order to help them improve their economic and social position and to maintain their dignity as persons created in the image of God. Their action was a pure movement for human rights, which is completely opposite to the charge that they "intended to establish a socialist state through violent revolution."

The defendants stated that when one considers the YH incident, the Dong-il Textile Workers incident, and the many other labor cases during the 1970s, the Federation of Korean Trade Unions, rather than being used to help the workers, was instrumental in blocking the sincere workers' human rights movement and in fact played an oppressive role. Because of this, the workers keenly felt the need for a national labor union which would be their genuine representative; they wanted a labor union movement that would be carried out in accordance with the law. They said that this was the hope also of persons working in the labor area following the October 26 incident, when the democratization movement was activated in many areas.

As the existing FKTU was not fulfilling its responsibilities, the workers hoped for the democratization of the FKTU, while many other workers called for the creation of a new national trade union that would protect their rights and interests in a legal and sound way. The persons arrested in this case, also, themselves worked in the factories, serving their neighbors.

In the situation of highly-developed industrialization, where egoism flourishes to the extreme; in this barren climate where people turn away from their neighbors' hurts, these young and pure persons tried to show love for their neighbors. For this they were prosecuted under the National Security Law as anti-state criminals; this we cannot understand. The prosecution charges were made by means of torture, against these persons who always try to obey the law. This turning of the law inside out makes us dizzy.

We ask that you, the respected recipients of this appeal, assist these arrested persons whose human rights are violated, thus giving us real hope for the establishment of a just society in this land. According to the words of Jesus, who loved the one lost sheep, we appeal to you, as the shepherds of our society, to save our loved ones – Signed by all the families of persons arrested in the "Democratic Student Federation" and the "Democratic Labor Federation" incidents – January 1982

(第三種郵物認可)

China Rejects Japan's Explanation on Revisions

China July 30 rejected Japan's attempts to explain new textbooks that soften descriptions of Japanese wartime brutality, angrily accusing Tokyo of damaging the "basic spirit" of Sino-Japanese relations.

The unusually swift and vehement Chinese response dashed Tokyo's effort to defuse the textbook controversy, which has sparked protest against Japan in several Asian nations.

Only hours after a Tokyo meeting between Chinese and Japanese officials, China's official Xinhua news agency lashed out at Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki's government and said its attempts at explanation fell short.

China claims the new textbooks gloss over or distort the horrors of occupation by the Japanese in China and other Asian nations before and during World War II.

The Xinhua dispatch charged the Japanese Education Ministry's "practice in censoring the textbooks runs counter to the basic spirit of the joint statement and the peace and friendship treaty between China and Japan signed in 1972 when the countries reestablished relations."

Japanese officials have tried to shift the blame onto publishers of the textbooks, explaining the the government only makes recommendations in its textbook screening process. They also contend the textbook changes do not breath the tone of the 1972 treaty, in which Japan admitted wartime wrongs.

The Tokyo government had sought to defuse the issue through the July 29 meeting between Wang Xiaoyun, a minister at the Chinese Embassy, and Isao Suzuki, a senior official at Japan's Education Ministry.

But Wang told reporters immediately afterward he was given "no explanation of why the word used to characterize Japan's invasion of my country before World War II had been altered in Japanese school books from aggression to advance."

As one example, the current history textbook used in Japanese high schools says that during the occupation of the Chinese city of Nanking,, "the Japanese forces killed many Chinese soldiers and civilians, resorted to violence, plundered towns, and set houses on fire."

In the forthcoming edition approved by the Education Ministry in June, the references to plunder and fires were dropped as was the number of Chinese killed – 200,000.

Pyongyang Joins in Attacking Tokyo's WWII Accounts

Pyongyang July 25 criticized Tokyo for chnaging school textbook descriptions about World War II. The first commentary on the matter was carried in Rodong Sinmun. Follows the full text of the Rodong Sinmun commentary:

The Japanese Education Ministry has given official approval to school textbooks publishers who accepted the ministry's suggestions to change some words used in the descriptions of historical events related to the Japanese invasion and colonial rule of our country.

In the textbooks for primary and secondary schools of Japan authorized by the ministry this time, the March 1 Uprising of the Korean people is described as a "riot", the forcible labor drafting as a "voluntary" action on the part of Koreans and the use of the Japanese language forced on them as a "common language" in utter disregard of facts.

This is a shameless distortion of history; it is an intolerable insult to our people and a crafty ruse for embellishing the Japanese imperialists' Korean aggression.

Our people cannot but feel indignant at this unjustifiable action on the part of the Japanese authorities.

History is supposed to be an objective record of past events. Nobody can exaggerate or underestimate historical facts as one wishes or erase and fabricate them. It is a hard historical fact, undeniable by anyone that the March 1 Uprising of the Korean people was a just patriotic uprising against the barbaric colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and for the restoration of Chajusong (independence) of the country and the nation. This is clearly written in a multitude of publications.

Nevertheless, the Japanese authorities describe the March 1 Uprising of our people as a "riot" in an effort to make it appear as "rowdyism" or "mob violence", not as a natural product of the Japanese imperialists' colonial rule. This is a crafty ruse intended to legalize the Japanese imperialists' aggression on Korea in the past days and obliterate facts about the patriotic struggle of the Korean people against it.

The same can be said of the labour drafting.

The Japanese imperialists who mobilized large military personnel during the Pacific War, put a great number of our young people into forced labour in order to make up for labor shortage.

Is it necessary to recall that our young people were forced to work at military bases, in coal mines, munitions factories and on construction sites and die from brutal treatment?

By advertising the forcible labour drafting by the Japanese imperialists as a "voluntary" act of our people, the Japanese authorities attempt to conceal the murderous nature of Japanese imperialism and create the impression that it had enlisted someone's "support."

Utterly contrary to fact is the description that the Japanese language was a "common language" used in Korea.

In the past, the Japanese imperialists talked about slogans such as "Korea and Japan have the same ancesters" and "Korea and Japan are in the same boat." They made desparate efforts to force the Japanese on every Korean and followed the assimilation policy, prohibiting Koreans from using their own written and spoken language. However, they could not deprive our people of the their sopken and written language with any threat and appeasement. Even under hard suppression by the Japanese imperialists, our people protected and used our excellent language and alphabet the fact is just as stated above.

With a false statement that the Japanese language was used as a "common language," they attempt to erase the records of the criminal policy of obliterating the Korean language and forcing the Japanese language upon the Korean people.

Also impermissible are the Japanese authorities' attempts to arbitrarily distort the stark historical facts publicly recognized by the world. In revising the textbooks to teach a distorted history to the younger generation, they seek to inculcate militarist aggressive ideas in the minds of young Japanese people by whitewashing the Japanese imperialists' past records of aggression. Through this, they intend to justify the aggressive "theory they are peddling today and, furthermore, to make ideological preparations for the realization of their reinvasion designs on south Korea and of their wild dream of "a greater east Asia co-prosperity sphere." In the textbooks, they distort not only Japan's history of aggression on our country, but also that on China and Southeast Asian countries. This reveals the intention of theirs all the more.

History does not repeat itself. Or we should not allow it to repeat itself. The revision of textbooks by the Japanese authorities and their distortion of history show with increased clarity that their militarist aggressive nature has not changed, but is being revived in a new form.

If the Japanese authorities want to atone for their past errors and crimes and not to follow the same road, they must not fabricate historical facts, but write a true and valid history so that the people may draw lessons from it.

Asian Papers on Japan's Textbook Revisions

Editorial of Yomiuri Shimbun

The revision of high school history textbooks under instructions of the Education Ministry has become an international issue with the issuance of a formal protest by China.

What angered China was th substitution of the word "advance" for "invasion" in describing Japan's war of aggression against China. But other revisions drew hostile comments in north and south Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

These countries with such different political systems are united in demoning the falsification of history by the Japanese Goverment. South Korea's Dong-A Ilbo newspaper accused Japan of attempting to whitewash Japanese colonialism. China's People's Daily commented that the rewriting of school textbooks by Japan may be a domestic affair but the invasion of China was not a domestic affair. China said this violates the spirit of the Japan-China treaty of peace and friendship.

Falsifying Historical Facts

A newspaper in Taiwan accused Japanese leaders of falsifying historical facts to cover up Japan's crimes of aggression in the past. A newspaper in Singapore, said Japanese textbooks convey to young generations that because of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan was the victim of World War II. However, the newspaper said they do not say what Japan did to become the victim of atomic bombing.

The Japanese Government claims to be rewriting hisoty "on the basis of objective and impartial materials and information." But other Asian countries cannot accept this view. Japan has changed since World War II and has become an economic giant. However, it brought much suffering and misery to Asia during the war.

Victims Don't Forget

We should be more aware of the fact that victims don't forget so easily and quickly. It has been only 10 years since relations were normalized with China and the state of belligerency ended. Relations with South Korea were established 17 years ago.

The rewriting of textbooks, combined with the buildup of Japan's defense forces and visits to Yasukuni Shrine by the prime minister and cabinet ministers, is alarming Asian countries. And it should be remembered that the Japanese people were also the victims of Japanese militarism. This makes us doubt the sanity of Education Ministry officials.

The textbooks issue has arisen before Prime Minister Suzuki's planned trip to China this autumn and while no solution has yet been found to end the dispute with South Korea on economic cooperation.

The prime minister should go before the Diet and acknowledge the fact of Japan's past aggression not only to ease the fears of our neighbors but to educate our children correctly. (July 28)

In Hong Kong

The independent English-language daily **Standard** carried the following editorial on moves within Japan's Education Ministry to tone down accounts of Japan's military actions before and during World War II:

"Until quite recently history was most often written for and interpreted by the victors to justify their gains and glorify their achievements while glossing over the less edifying parts of their past.

"But gradually this accepted state of scholarship has been jolted out of its rut when the Japanese, no longer thinking themselves the vanquished, decided to revise their history books and remove unflattering passages about the war years.

"This seemingly innocuous editing of their textbooks would have aroused no bitter feelings had the passions and memories of World War II and before not been so deeply engraved in the conscience and consciousness of the Asian peoples who witnessed Japanese aggression and whose lives were affected by it.

"The Japanese Education Ministry said the Japanese people need not be ashamed any more, when modern Japan now ranks among the most enlightened and humane of societies. So true.

"But disquiet still transcends this emotional overdale with the rest of Asia, countries and peoples who eschew contemporary Japan for its alleged economic aggression.

"To many Asians who choose to stress the few negative traits in the Japanese character–such as the allegiance to the national cause, to expand its economic influence everywhere while closing off the Japanese market to foreign goods by imposing stiff tariff duties–Japanese haughtiness seems to make transparent both the exterior benignity and goodwill.

"The editing of the history books has confirmed the rite suspicion that the Japanese are still chauvinistic and inherently aggressive.

"Japanese youths are of course, entitled to learn of the great accomplishments in their society. Yet, it is only fair to all Asians if the Japanese Education Ministry can dare reveal the truth of the Japanese past – warts, blemishes and all.

"After all, the true measure of greatness – for Japan as for all countries–is honesty about one's past."

In Thailand

The Chinese-language press in Thailand has joined a rising chorus of overseas criticism on Japan's textbook revisions in dealing with the country's wartime relations with China and Korea.

Sing Sian Yit Pao, a major Chinese-language daily published in Bangkok, warned of reemergence of Japanese militarism behind Japan's recent move to change the historical description of the Japanese adventure in China.

Under pressure from the Ministry of Education, all major Japanese publishers have deleted the term "aggression" in describing Japan's 1937-45 war with China and called it an "advance".

The distortion of historical facts of the China invasion means that militarism in Japan is once again stirring to life, **Sing Sian** said in an editorial published July 27.

The newspaper followed up the textbook issue the next day by front-paging in its July 28 editions reports on a "rising anti-Japanese movement" in both north and south Korea against Japanese textbook revisions on Japan's relations with its former colony.

Hong Kong Students Protest Revisions

Several local students organizations in Hong Kong angrily protested against revisions in Japanese textbooks describing Japan's 1937 move into China as an "advance" rather than an "invasion".

In a letter submitted to the Japanese consul-general on July 28, the Hong Kong Federation of Students and four other student bodies demanded that the "Japanese government clarify its stand on the distortion of history" and give an accurate view of past evetns.

"We strongly protest the Japanese Ministry of Education's action in glossing over and embellishing the Japanese invasion of China and the massacre of our countrymen," said the letter, addressed to Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki.

In submitting their protest letter, 22 representatives of the student bodies in Hong Kong requested a meeting with the Japanese consul-general, Chusei Yamada. But they were told that he was not in.

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